[31] the plains] are not located in the district which Ayres de Cazal named Mundurucania. They stand in the territory which the geographer called Tapajonia, between the Tapajoz and the Xingu and close to the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Tapajoz, namely the Cadereri, Cabetutum and Cururu rivers, the Rio das Tropas (which the Mundurucu call Pitunzi) and the Rio do Crepuri.

In the course of my journey I encountered a great many small streams that were sources of the Cadereri and tributaries of the Tapajoz.

Had I proceeded in the same direction beyond Necodemos a few days longer, I would undoubtedly have come upon the sources of the tributaries of the Xingu.

IX

Wars of the Mundurucu -- waging procedure -- End of these wars.

727 We have already noted that the wars of these barbarians are 597 waged with the sole aim of capturing young women and children of both sexes. Within the tribe, however, the captives are treated no differently than native Mundurucu. They are painted with the same arabesques of indelible dyes: the woman immediately gets a husband, and the child finds an adoptive father who is almost invariably the same Indian who captured him. When preparations are made for one of these forays, the warrior's sister, his mother, or some other relative places an order for a child, saying: "Bring me a boy to be my son."

[648] The Mundurucu's chief victims are the Parintintin; in addition to a desire for captives, the deadly hatred [94] which has long ruled between the two tribes is another motive for frequent attacks.

721 Whenever it becomes known that a band of Parintintin have appeared somewhere, the Mundurucu immediately set off after them. To my knowledge, however, this inveterate hatred is not directed toward other tribes. Among the Mundurucu there runs a

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

took his trophy a short distance into the forest, where its magical effect was exercised. But the supernatural power of the head could only be maintained when certain precautions were observed. Both the taker of the head and his wife were prohibited from sexual intercourse and were supposed to avoid looking upon any person who had recently indulged in the act. Accordingly, they lived very restrained and sequestered lives; the Dajeboiši spent most of his time lying in his hammock, and his wife was assigned special assistants to perform her household and garden chores.

The Dajeboiši was also responsible for sponsoring a series of ceremonies that took place during three successive rainy seasons following the return of the expedition. During the first, which took place shortly after the return of the war party, feather pendants were attached to the ears of the trophy head; certain clans had the prerogative of affixing the feathers of particular species of birds. Also, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth were placed across each eye. During the second phase of the ceremony, the ornaments and skin were stripped from the skull and it was retired to a corner of the men's house. The third part of the ceremony was devoted to stringing the enemy's teeth on a woven cotton belt. This ornament served as a permanent trophy of the slain enemy, and the skull was left to deteriorate in the men's house.

The final phase of the ceremony involved the greatest degree of intervillage participation, for it served as a ceremonial reunion of the *Darekši* or "mothers of the arrow." The Darekši was a society devoted to the celebration of Mundurucú arms, and included all adult males. At this time, a great feast was held, martial songs were sung, and the young boys were given instruction in the songs of the Darekši. At the conclusion of the celebration, the ceremonial cycle terminated and the Dajeboiši and his wife resumed their normal life.[3]

No special honor was accorded the warrior who captured children. They were turned over to his wife to rear as her own. Having been incorporated into the kinship system through adoption, the children were accorded the treatment appropriate to their relationship status. In time, they married members of the opposite moiety and lived through a normal Mundurucú life cycle. Contemporary informants affirm that captives were in no way treated as inferiors, although their origins were certainly remembered. Young men were said to have taken part in Mundurucú war parties, even in attacks against their native group. No cases of defection were reported.

GOALS OF WARFARE

George Fathauer (1954:110) maintains in a recent article that the Mohave "conception of war was largely non-instrumental: it was an end in itself." The Mundurucú looked upon warfare in much the same way; war was considered an essential and unquestioned part of their way of life, and foreign tribes were attacked because they were enemies by definition. This basic orientation emerged clearly from interviews with informants. Unless direct, specific questions were asked, the Mundurucú never assigned specific causes to particular

186 more, children were captured from
● [597] other tribes and raised as Mundurucú without prejudice. To adult "outland-
186 ers" of either sex, however, the Mun-
727 durucú gave no quarter; the enemy was summarily dispatched and the head severed and taken as a trophy.

The taking of the trophy head was not an end in itself, although it did serve to bring glory to the successful warrior. The enemy head became the subject of a series of ceremonies and ritualistic observances which had as their object the furtherance of the material well-being of all the "people." Beyond this, the Mundurucú derived great pride from their collective strength, and, even today, the older men speak of their warrior days with animation and no little nostalgia.

648 The establishment of peaceful and
177 symbiotic relations with the whites
726 added a further dimension to the
577 values connected with warfare, which the Mundurucú now pursued as paid allies of the Brazilians. Identification with the cause of the whites and attraction to the material delights of Western culture gave the Mundurucú a "civilizing" mission. They fought only against the "outlanders of the forest," the "savage" Indians, and they construed their role to be one of forceful pacification of these recalcitrants. This added goal provided a rationale for the acceptance of the white man and his culture and served to smooth relations between the two groups during the acculturative process. The
726 means used to attain the new ends were traditional. Enemy villages were